United Nations

Centre against Apartheid

Notes and Documents

16/91 August 1991

PARIS STATEMENT

on International Assistance to the Victims of Apartheid in the Fields of Education and Training

adopted by
the International Conference on the Educational Needs
of the Victims of Apartheid in South Africa
(Paris, 25-27 June 1991)

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United Nations, New York 10017

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INTRODUCTION

A three-day International Conference on the Educational Needs of the Victims of Apartheid in South Africa was held from 25 to 27 June 1991 in Paris at UNESCO headquarters. The Conference was co-sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in cooperation with the Advisory Committee of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA).

The Conference's objectives were: (a) to review the educational system in South Africa with special reference to the impact of apartheid on the education of blacks; (b) to identify the educational needs in post-apartheid South Africa; and (c) to make recommendations on how the international community can assist in meeting the educational needs of the victims of apartheid.

The participants in the Conference included prominent academics and educators from southern Africa; representatives of major donor countries rendering educational assistance to black South Africans; representatives of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, and educational programmes and scholarship agencies. Representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC) took part in the discussions and addressed the Conference.

The Conference was also attended by the representatives of International Labour Organisation (ILO), the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and the World Bank.

Martin Huslid, Permanent Representative of Norway to the United Nations and current Chairman of the Advisory Committee on UNETPSA, was elected President of the Conference. John Harker, Chairman of the Commonwealth Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa, and Frank Ferrari, Senior Vice-President of the African-American Institute in New York, served as Vice-Presidents and Moderators of two panels. Dr. Marjorie Thorpe was elected the Rapporteur of the Conference. She also moderated the third panel.

In panel discussions, the participants reviewed the current educational situation in South Africa, evaluated the impact of apartheid on education of blacks and explored the educational needs of post-apartheid South Africa. Special consideration was given to the current and prospective socio-economic and political developments in the country. Bilateral and multilateral

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assistance to educational programmes in South Africa became a matter for thorough review. The participants discussed at length a number of measures in the educational field to be implemented by the international community and the United Nations in particular during the transition of the country to a non-racial and democratic society.

At the conclusion of its work, the Conference adopted the Paris Statement on International Assistance to the Victims of Apartheid in the Fields of Education and Training.

At the closing session, several participants commented on the Paris Statement and expressed their grave concern at the continued existence of the racial and discriminatory system of apartheid education in South Africa. The persistent violence, which the authorities had not yet contained, further exacerbated the situation. They noted with regret that despite the recent political developments, the authorities had not taken meaningful steps to institute a single non-racial educational system necessary to redress the gross social and educational inequalities produced by apartheid education. They expressed their appreciation to the United Nations for holding the Conference and call upon the international community to continue the pressure on the South African authorities to abolish the system of apartheid education.

In conjunction with the International Conference, a follow-up meeting was held on 28 June between the donor countries, scholarship agencies and educational programmes to exchange views on their respective practices and consult on international assistance to the human resources development strategy in South Africa during its transition to a non-racial and democratic society.

I. Paris Statement on International Assistance to the Victims of Apartheid in the Fields of Education and Training

(adopted at the International Conference on the Educational Needs of the Victims of Apartheid in South Africa, 25-27 June 1991)

1. The education crisis in South Africa, created by the policies and practices of apartheid, has reached disastrous proportions. In this situation, a massive effort is necessary in order to overcome the historical, psychological, structural, economic and societal inequities of apartheid.

2. Participants in the Conference agree that the onus for providing equal and quality education to all South Africans in a unitary system and redressing existing inequities in the crucial field of education lies with the Government of the country. It is also clear that the people themselves have a crucial role to play as full participants in this process, so as to promote a culture of learning.

3. Participants of the Conference call on the South African Government to fully and urgently address the quantitative and qualitative components of the education crisis by taking appropriate political, legal, financial and other measures, and accordingly call on the international community to continue taking appropriate measures towards that end, consistent with the United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

4. The participants noted a number of positive developments taking place in South Africa. They welcomed the initiatives of the anti-apartheid groups that intervened in the education crisis and spearheaded the establishment of the joint working group with the authorities. They called for an educational system to be instituted in South Africa soon, consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and such international conventions as the Convention against Discrimination in Education and the Jomtien World Declaration on Education for All.

5. Participants in the Conference are of the view that international educational and training programmes should be geared towards meeting the needs of the majority of South Africans, thereby assisting in the political, economic and socio-cultural transformation.

6. It is incumbent upon the international community to support efforts in South Africa: (a) to restructure the educational system; to provide, in a concerted manner, appropriate educational and training opportunities for black South Africans in order to alleviate the current education crisis and thus

facilitate the transition to a non-racial and democratic South Africa; to cooperate and coordinate action in order to avoid duplication of effort and ensure a cost-effective allocation of resources; and (b) to contribute to the formulation and implementation of an international component of a human resource development strategy for South Africa which will be forged by the South Africans themselves.

7. Participants also noted the need for South Africans to discuss education transformation and agree on a common set of educational priorities. They called upon the international community to support the initiative for a national conference for this purpose. They affirmed the necessity for the South African anti-apartheid groups to play a central role in organizing such a conference.

8. Participants are of the view that international agencies and educational programmes concerned can contribute to meeting the needs of the victims of apartheid particularly by means of:

(a) Supporting and complementing the South African people's endeavours towards major educational restructuring through quality education, research and development of learning material;

(b) Promoting debate on, research into and development of curriculum reform;

(c) Providing resources to assist in addressing the huge problems of illiteracy and innumeracy, school drop-outs, the marginalization of women and other structural imbalances;

(d) Providing assistance for the training of the managers of educational change at all levels, including teachers' educators, planners, curriculum specialists and administrators;

(e) Assisting in the establishment of a massive programme of adult education;

(f) Emphasizing language, science and technology and the development of technical and vocational education with a view to redressing the current skewed distribution of black students in these areas;

(g) Assisting in training programmes in the fields of public administration, policy analysis and planning and business management and strengthening the capacity of institutions and organizations.

9. It is emphasized that a skill development programme is not enough. It is imperative that special attention be given to re-thinking the values which underlie the educational system, curricula and teaching materials at all levels and forms of

education. In this connection, it is necessary to introduce into the educational content and methods, humanistic and cultural values. It is also important to promote the principles of human rights in education and educational practices which will in turn support a culture of peace and democracy.

10. With the changing circumstances in South Africa, and in view of the severity of the educational crisis in that country, it is important that assistance by the international community be provided in the most effective manner and in accordance with priorities identified by South Africans themselves.

11. To the extent possible, educational and training programmes conducted abroad should take into consideration the potential for job placement in South Africa, including self-employment. In this connection, the private sector, community and non-governmental organizations as well as international educational and scholarship programmes concerned are called upon to work out mechanisms and arrangements whereby South Africans trained abroad are given job opportunities to contribute to the political, economic and social development of their country.

12. Universities and other educational institutions which promote educational and training programmes for the black majority should be supported. In this connection, international agencies and educational institutions should cooperate in developing exchange programmes of graduate students and faculty with such South African universities and institutions.

13. Participants agree that major programmes of bilateral and multilateral educational cooperation and assistance to South Africa, whether public or private, and non-governmental organizations, should maintain close liaison, periodically exchange views and coordinate action. In this connection, it is agreed that the United Nations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), in cooperation with other United Nations agencies and major intergovernmental programmes, should work to ensure that there are mechanisms for such collaboration among all concerned. It is proposed that a meeting for that purpose be organized at the beginning of 1992 under the auspices of the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa.

II. EXCERPTS OF STATEMENTS

a. H.E. Professor Ibrahim A. Gambari, Chairman of the Special Committee against Apartheid

... I hope that conclusions and recommendations will be reached concerning the international component of a human resource development strategy with particular emphasis on meeting the educational needs of black South Africans during the transition to a non-racial and democratic society and beyond. Such a strategy would help bring the whole of South Africa to the point where human rights and democracy, guaranteed by a new constitution will prevail...

... We are meeting at a time when an unprecedented opportunity for profound change has opened up in South Africa. Several positive steps have been taken both by the South African authorities, including the recent repeal of basic apartheid legal structures, and by the representatives of the black majority. There are, however, many more obstacles to be overcome if a system based on equality, democracy and the rule of law is to be achieved in South Africa...

... The country has the dismal distinction of having one of the highest degrees of social and economic inequality of all countries in the world. Over 60 per cent of blacks live below the poverty line. The majority of black communities continue to face high levels of unemployment, a crisis in education, appalling living conditions and a health care system in disarray. The persistence of these inequalities fuels the deep frustrations and divisions sown by apartheid over generations and contributes to the violence...

Under these circumstances, meeting the educational needs of the victims of apartheid, thereby increasing their opportunities for advancement and for bettering their lives, is an absolutely essential step in helping redress the burden of disparities which that obnoxious system has imposed on them. Years of serious inequities in the allocation of resources have led to the current education crisis. Teachers and pupils have witnessed the collapse of the learning environment in black schools and the result has been a "lost generation" of black youth who are illiterate, semi-literate, unskilled and virtually unemployable, except in the most menial tasks...

... It is encouraging, given the severity of the problems being faced, that there is a general and continuing consensus among the international community on the urgent need to increase support to the victims of apartheid.

I am encouraged by the decision made by the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa in February 1991 to launch a programme of training of black South Africans in the fields of administration and management and to formulate proposals for a wider programme of assistance in the area of human resources development. The European Community also announced in December 1990 that it would strengthen its programme of positive measures and adapt it to the requirements of the new situation, including those related to the return and resettlement of exiles.

In line with the Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa adopted by consensus in December 1989, it remains the task of the international community to maintain pressure on the authorities until the objectives of the Declaration are met, namely the establishment of a united, non-racial, democratic country. The consensus on South Africa, built since December 1989 at the United Nations, should be safeguarded. Member States should not disregard their political and moral commitments undertaken at the General Assembly.

A period of daunting challenge lies ahead for the international community. Now, more than ever, a renewed effort and commitment is needed to ensure that pressure and assistance leads to an early eradication of apartheid and a new constitution is in place. Only then could we say that we have fulfilled our moral and political obligations to remove a system from the world that affronted our sense of dignity and humanity.

b. **Mr. Federico Mayor, Director-General of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco)**

... UNESCO is gratified to have been asked to host this important meeting. We hope that all concerned - representatives of governments, of the South African liberation movements, of intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, of specialized institutions and of funding agencies, as well as individual educationalists and colleagues from other United Nations Secretariat - will consider the Conference to have been valuable in addressing the crucial issues you have had before you in your agenda.

... Our efforts - that is to say, the assistance that the international community can provide to help the South African people in its task - must be equal to the scale of the challenge. UNESCO's ongoing programme in this field - its scholarship and UNDP-financed education programmes for national liberation movements, its studies, meetings and publications on racism,

human rights and post-apartheid policies, its mobilization of the intellectual and cultural communities in the anti-apartheid struggle - is currently being expanded into a Special Project designed to intensify anti-apartheid efforts and, when the situation in South Africa allows, to support development and nation-building activities in its field of competence. At the same time, UNESCO's programme as a whole is being called upon - under the guidance of a newly established intersectoral committee - to contribute in a variety of ways to the vital undertaking of preparing the way for the emergence of a new society in South Africa.

One obvious area in which UNESCO's experience, expertise and network may be turned to account is in the building up of new educational structures and curricula at all levels and in the revision of school textbooks. Another important potential area of co-operation will be in the promotion of literacy, where due recognition will need to be given to the importance of educating women - the mothers of a literate society. Since competing demands on limited resources will inevitably be numerous in the transition to a new society, thought will obviously need to be given to the most cost-effective ways of providing education on a more equitable basis, including the distance-learning approaches in which UNESCO has a great interest...

... In considering educational needs in South Africa, the role of culture should not be overlooked either. The rich African tradition of arts and skills including music, dance and craftwork - all of which have been denigrated under apartheid - will need to be fostered in education as part of the broader protection and promotion of the nation's cultural heritage.

... Education, finally, has a vital role to play in helping to change attitudes in South Africa, in developing understanding and tolerance, in promoting peace and reconciliation and in encouraging people of different groups to work together in the common interest.

... I am pleased to note that many of the possible forms of cooperation I have sketched out here are reflected in the Paris Statement submitted for adoption by the Conference. I am particularly pleased to see the emphasis placed on rethinking the values underlying the education system, on major educational restructuring, on curriculum reform and on combating illiteracy...

c. **H.E. Mr. M. Huslid, Chairman of the Advisory Committee on the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA)**

... Pendant la durée de cette conférence, nous allons nous pencher sur l'un des domaines où ces inégalités sont les plus criantes, celui de l'éducation.

... Cela fait maintenant plus de 20 ans que le Programme d'enseignement et de formation des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique australe s'efforce de pallier les insuffisances et les injustices du système éducatif sud-africain. Plus de 7.000 étudiants ont bénéficié à ce jour de bourses accordées dans le cadre de ce programme, et ont ainsi mené à terme leurs études dans plus de 30 pays. Le programme a formé non seulement des scientifiques, des ingénieurs, des avocats, des informaticiens, des médecins, des dentistes mais aussi des gestionnaires, des spécialistes des sciences politiques ou de questions internationales. A la fin de l'année scolaire 1990, le programme parrainait quelques 1.200 étudiants de par le monde, dont 70 pour cent étaient sud-africains et 30 pour cent namibiens. Pour l'année scolaire 1991/92, les contributions au programme qui sont en léger accroissement, se sont élevées à plus de cinq millions de dollars.

... Dans le cadre des limites des ressources à sa disposition, le Programme a bien rempli son objectif dans le passé. Mais, il s'avère à présent nécessaire d'en redéfinir les objectifs et priorités, afin de mieux répondre aux exigences de la situation actuelle. Il es important, en particulier, que le mandat du Programme d'enseignement et de Formation des Nations Unies pour l'Afrique australe soit rendu plus flexible et que des efforts supplémentaires soient entrepris en vue d'aider, le moment venu et de la manière appropriée, à la formation des sud-africains dans leur pays même. Jusqu'à présent, en effet, la plus grande majorité des étudiants ayant eu accès aux ressources du Programme étaient ceux se trouvant hors d'Afrique du Sud. Des structures permettant de sélectionner des candidats qualifiés en Afrique du Sud même sont en voie d'être mises en place en collaboration avec les mouvements de libération nationale, le Comité de Coordination de l'Education nationale et d'autres organisations appropriées.

D'autre part, les responsables du programme sont de plus en plus guidés par un plus grand souci de s'assurer que les formations suivies par les boursiers soient conformes aux besoins actuels et futurs de l'économie et du marché du travail sud-africains, de même qu'ils portent une attention particulière aux formations scientifiques et de gestionnaires de niveau moyen et de haut niveau pour les organismes publiques et privés. Leur objectif prioritaire est de faire de ce programme un élément à

part entière d'une stratégie de développement des ressources humaines en Afrique du Sud...

... S'il appartient aux Sud-africains eux-mêmes de définir les axes majeurs d'une telle stratégie, la communauté internationale quant à elle, se doit de préciser les moyens par lesquels elle pourra contribuer à la mise en oeuvre de la composante extérieure de cette stratégie. Il faut rappeler à cet égard qu'au cours de sa dernière session, l'Assemblée Générale a souligné, avec encore plus d'insistance que de coutume, la nécessité de venir en aide aux victimes de l'apartheid. La présence parmi nous d'experts et d'éducateurs venus d'Afrique du Sud, nous permettra, j'en suis convaincu, d'établir d'une part un ordre de priorité pour les activités et les responsabilités que la communauté internationale devra assumer dans le domaine de l'éducation et de la formation dans les années à venir, et d'autre part de mieux coordonner ces activités...

d. Message from Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa

... The brutal and rigorous enforcement of apartheid in South Africa over the years has precipitated a crisis of monumental proportions in the black educational system - a crisis which, by its sheer gravity, has forced a consensus among South Africans across the political spectrum that this was an issue deserving to be placed very high on the list of political priorities.

The United Nations has, therefore, through this timely initiative, not only displayed a remarkable sensitivity to the preoccupations of apartheid's victims, but has underlined the pivotal role of the international community in the resolution of this problem.

Moreover, the headquarters of UNESCO as a setting for this conference on education in South Africa is significant not only in terms of its symbolism but also because within the United Nations system, UNESCO has unparalleled expertise and singular competence to address the grave problems that have been afflicting us for decades...

... Correctly understood, this conference should be located in the context of the international effort to end apartheid speedily, in accordance with relevant United Nations resolutions including, and especially, the consensus United Nations Declaration on Apartheid and its Destructive Consequences in Southern Africa.

Equally important, the resolution of the education crisis will contribute meaningfully towards the creation of a solid base for the non-racial democratic South Africa which must emerge from the ashes of the discredited system of apartheid...

... A cursory glance at the statistical data reveals a frightening spectacle which not even the professed good intentions of the Pretoria regime can hide:

> Out of the 15 million black children of school-going age, only 7 million are in schools whilst 8 million are out of school.
>
> The regime's policy requiring white parental acquiescence to desegregated white schools has not assisted much to ease the crisis. As at January this year, only 205 out of 2,000 white schools had agreed to open their doors to black pupils.
>
> White teacher-training colleges are closing for lack of students, while the figure for more teachers required amongst blacks is 33,000.
>
> Only one out of six students reach matric and last year two thirds of the 223,000 that sat for the matric examinations failed.
>
> The average 764 rands that the Government spends on a black school child is a far cry from the R 3,800 spent on a white child.

These figures in themselves underline the perpetuation of apartheid and its horrendous consequences - in spite of De Klerk's much trumpeted reforms...

... The chronic problems of black education have direct and dire consequences on the sharply escalating levels of unemployment with its concomitant social ills...

... Moreover, the educational crisis deprives the South African economy of the already scarce human resources in managerial and technological fields among black people...

... The conclusion is inescapable: unless there is a drastic improvement in the availability of opportunities and training patterns, black people in South Africa will remain at the bottom rung of the economic ladder. This cannot be conducive to peace and development...

... Within the realm of specifics, the conference should examine in depth a number of key concerns in black education and formulate approaches towards their urgent resolution, bearing in

mind that such solutions are not peripheral to our overall strategic objective, but will rather serve to reinforce our collective effort towards its realization. The Conference may contemplate the following actions:

1. The mobilization of massive financial resources to provide realistically for the infrastructural needs in black education. In this regard it will require a Herculean effort to cater for the millions of pupils presently out of school, the children of returning political exiles as well as the victims of internal displacement.

2. A massive recruitment drive for teachers and the evolution of innovative teacher-training programmes, including the upgrading of the qualification of teachers, in order to address the serious shortfall that has become a common feature of black education.

3. In order to overcome the deliberate policy pursued by successive apartheid regimes of excluding blacks from the scientific and technological fields it is essential to initiate programmes that would have a strong scientific and technological bias in conformity with the demands of South African realities.

4. To evolve, as a matter of urgent necessity, programmes designed to empower blacks to manage, in the shortest possible time, urban and rural development.

5. To harmonize aid programmes and grant-making policies so as to ensure that they dovetail, in the first instance, with the priorities of South African development.

In all these efforts the underlying assumption is that the Pretoria regime should take full responsibility towards redressing the crisis situation of its own creation - and therefore it cannot be absolved from the consequences of years of apartheid mismanagement...

III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

I. Officers of the Conference

President:	H.E. Mr. Martin Huslid (Norway) (see also below)
Vice Presidents:	Mr. John Harker (Commonwealth) (see also below)

	Mr. Frank Ferrari (United States) (see also below)
Rapporteur:	H.E. Dr. Marjorie Thorpe (Trinidad and Tobago) (see also below)

Moderators of Panels:

Panel I:	H.E. Dr. Marjorie Thorpe (Trinidad and Tobago)
Panel II:	Mr. John Harker (Commonwealth)
Panel III:	Mr. Frank Ferrari (United States)

II. Participants

1. Individuals:

Mr. Goolam Aboobaker, University of Western Cape, Belville, South Africa
Professor M.Kazim Bacchus, University of Alberta, Edmonton
Mr. Francis Bartels, UNESCO expert
Dr. Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, Director, Education Development Trust, South Africa
Mr. Justin Ellis, Ministry of Education and Culture, Namibia
Mr. Frank Ferrari, Senior Vice-President, African-American Institute, United States
Mr. John Harker, Chairman, Commonwealth Expert Group on Human Resource Development for a Post-Apartheid South Africa
Mr. Bernard Harleston, President, City College, CUNY, United States
Mr. M. P. Makhado, Director, NAFCOC, South Africa
Professor N. Chabani Manganyi, Vice-Chancellor, University of the North, South Africa
Dr. Gomolemo Mokae, Education Secretary, Azanian People's Organization, South Africa
Mrs. Eleanor Molefe, Assistant Director, Educational Opportunities Council, South Africa
Mr. Tulwana Monde, Chairman, National Education Coordinating Committee, South Africa
Dr. Caiphas T. Nziramasanga, University of Zimbabwe
Professor Jairam Reddy, Vice-Chancellor and Rector, University of Durban/Westville, South Africa
Mr. John Samuel, Head of Education Department, ANC, South Africa
Dr. Mala Singh, Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophy, University of Durban/Westville, South Africa
Dr. Francis Wilson, School of Economics, University of Cape Town, South Africa
Dr. Harold Wolpe, University of Western Cape, Belville, South Africa

2. **Governments:**

Australia; Austria; Belgium; Canada; Denmark; Finland; France; Germany; Italy; Japan; Netherlands; New Zealand; Norway; Spain; Sweden; Switzerland; United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland; United States of America.

3. **Intergovernmental Organizations:**

Commonwealth Secretariat
Council of Europe
International Organization on Migration

4. **Non-governmental Organizations:**

Africa Educational Trust
African American Institute
Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique
Aurora Associates
Institute of International Education
South African Freedom Through Education (SAFTE)
Southern Africa Education Trust Fund (SAETF)
World University Service

5. **National Liberation Movements:**

African National Congress of South Africa: Mr. Tebogo Mafole
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania: Mr. Gora A. Ebrahim

6. **United Nations bodies:**

Special Committee against Apartheid
H.E. Prof. Ibrahim Gambari (Nigeria), Chairman
H.E. Dr. Marjorie Thorpe (Trinidad and Tobago), Vice-Chairman
Mr. Virendra Gupta (India), Rapporteur
Mr. Abdullahi A. Omaki (Nigeria)
Ms. Chipo Zindoga (Zimbabwe)

Advisory Committee on UNETPSA
H.E. Mr. Martin Huslid (Norway), Chairman
Mr. Isaiah Z. Chabala (Zambia), Vice-Chairman

Representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations:
Mr. Sotirios Mousouris, Assistant Secretary-General, Centre against Apartheid

Representative of the Director-General of UNESCO: Mr. E. Portella, Deputy Director-General (Programme)

7. **United Nations agencies:**

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
International Labour Organisation (ILO)
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF)
World Bank

III. Observers

Mr. Frans Barker, National Manpower Commission
Mr. Costas Christ, School for International Training, Vermont
Dr. Schalk Engelbrecht, Human Sciences Research Council
Mr. Paul Garay, Paris Ecologie
Ms. Sarah Hayward, Southern African Advanced Education Project
Mr. I. Heloal, SAIH/INTERFUND
Mr. Jacob Imbe, Collectif Afrique Australe
Ms. Ethel de Keyser, the Cannon Collins Educational Trust for Southern Africa
Mr. Jan Lönn, International Youth and Student Movement for the United Nations (ISMUN)
Mr. Nathaniel Masemola, Luthuli Memorial Trust
Dr. M. Mehl, Independent Development Trust
Mr. Duke Mkondo Ngcukana, MAPP Music School
Ms. Julia Montgomery, Skills for South Africa Network
Mr. Dramane Oulai, IIEP/UNESCO
Mr. Jean Oulatas, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Ms. Martha Powers, Mid-Atlantic Research Associate
Mr. J. P. A. Seka, African Development Bank
Mr. Barry Smith, INTERFUND
Mr. Mavinga Tsafunenga, CEPROCOM
Mr. W. Vanderschaaf, IFFTU
Mr. Brian Whittaker, Urban Foundation

IV. Secretariat

Centre against Apartheid (Secretary: A. Abrous)
UNESCO (Deputy Secretary: L. De Andrade)

Courtesy of the Centre against Apartheid